GAUDEO
John Carter Brown
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p. 26 ref. to anatomical dissection.

THE Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel BREAKING FORTH UPON THE INDIANS IN NEW-ENGLAND.

OR, An Historicall Narration of Gods Wonderfull Workings upon sundry of the INDIANS, both chief Governors and Common-people, in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to the Ordinances of the Gospel; and framing their hearts to an earnest inquirie after the knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World.

By Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ at *Cambridge* in *New-England*.

Isaiah 2. 2,3. *And it shall come to passe in the last dayes, that the mountain of the Lords house shall bee established in the top of the mountains, and shall bee exalted above the hills; and all Nations shall flow unto it.*

And many people shal go and say, Come ye and let us goup to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his wayes, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

London, Printed by *R. Cotes* for *John Bellamy* at the three golden Lions in *Cornhill* near the Royall Exchange, 1648.

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RPJCB

TO THE *RIGHT HONOURABLE* THE LORDS & COMMONS *Assembled* In High Court of Parliament.

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Right Honorable,

THese *few* sheets *present* unto your view a *short* but welcome *discourse* of the visitations of the *most High* upon the *saddest* spectacles of *degeneracy* upon earth, The *poore Indian People:* the *distance* of place, (if our *spirits* be right) will be no *lessening* of the mercy, nor of our *thankefulnesse*, That *Christ* is glorified, that the *Gospel* doth any where find *footing*; and successe is a *mercy* as well worthy the *praise* of the *Saints* on Earth, as the *joy* of the *Angels* in heaven. The *report* of this mercy is *first* made to you, who are the *Representative* of this Nation, That in you *England* might bee stirred up, to be

Rejoycers in, and Advancers of theſe promiſing beginnings. And becauſe to You an *account* is *firſt* due of the *ſucceſſe* of the Goſpel in thoſe *darke* corners of the World, which have been ſo much *inlightned* by Your favour, *enlivened* by Your reſolutions, *encouraged* by Your fore-paſt indeavours for God, & hope ſtil being parts of Your ſelves, to be *further* ſtrengthned by Your benigne aſpects and bountifull influences on them.

The preſent *troubles* have not ſo far *obliterated* and worn out the ſad *impreſſions* which *former* times have made upon our ſpirits, but we can *ſadly* remember thoſe *deſtructive* deſignes which were on foot, and carryed on for the *Introduction* of ſo great *evils* both into *Church* and *State*; In order to which it was the *endeavour* of the *Contrivers* and *Promoters* of thoſe deſignes, *to waſt* the number of the godly, as thoſe who would never be brought to *comply* in ſuch deſtructive enterpriſes; which was attempted by *baniſhing* and *forcing* ſome abroad, by *burthening* and *afflicting* all at home. Among thoſe who *taſted* of the *firſt*, I ſay not the *worſt* ſort of their cruelty, were theſe our

Brethren

Brethren, who to enjoy the *liberties* of the Gospel, were *content* to sit downe, and pitch their *tents* in the *utmost* parts of the Earth, hoping that there they might be out of the *reach* of their malice, as they were assured they were beyond the *bounds* of their love. God who doth often make mans *evill* of sin, serviceable to the *advancement* of the *riches* of his owne Grace; The most *horrid* act that ever was done by the *sonnes* of men, the *murther* of Christ, God made *serviceable* to the highest *purposes* of Grace and mercy that ever *came* upon his breast; That God doth shew that hee had *mercifull* ends, in this their *malicious* purpose: as hee suffer'd *Paul* to be cast into prison, to *convert* the Jaylor, to be shipwrackt at *Melita*, to *preach* to the *barbarous*, so he *suffer'd* their way to be *stopped* up here, and their persons to be *banished* hence, that hee might *open* a passage for them in the Wilderness, and make them *instruments* to draw soules to him, who had been so long *estranged* from him.

Acts 16.30, 33.34. Acts 28.1.11.

It was the end of the *adversary* to suppresse, but Gods to *propagate* the Gospel; theirs to *smother* and put out the light, Gods to *communicate* and disperse it to the

utmost corners of the Earth; that as one saith of *Paul*, *his blindnesse gave light to the whole World*, so we hope God will make their distance and *estrangednesse* from us, a meanes of *bringing* many near and in to acquaintance with him.

Cæcitas Pauli otius orbis illuminatio. Acts 9 9.

Indeed *a long time* it was before God let them see any *farther* end of their comming over, then to *preserve* their consciences, *cherish* their Graces, *provide* for their sustenance: But when *Providences* invited their return, he let them *know* it was for some farther Arrand that hee *brought* them thither, giving them some *Bunches* of Grapes, some *Clusters* of Figs in *earnest* of the prosperous *successe* of their endeavours upon those *poor outcasts:* The *utmost* ends of the earth are *designed* and promised to be *in time* the possessions of Christ; And *hee sends his Ministers into every place where he himself intends to come*, and take possession. Where the *Ministery* is the *Harbinger* and goes before, Christ and *Grace* will *certainly* follow after.

Ps. 22. 8. Isa. 5 10, 11, 12. Isa. 11 9 10. Luke 10. 1.

This little we see is *something* in hand, to *earnest* to us those things which are in hope; something in *possession*, to assure us of the *rest*

in

in promiſe, when the *ends* of the earth ſhall ſee his glory, and *the Kingdmes of the world ſhall become the Kingdomes of the Lord and his Chriſt, when hee ſhall have Dominion from Sea to Sea, and they that dwell in the wilderneſſe ſhall bow before him.* And if the *dawn* of the *morning* be ſo delightfull, what will the *clear* day be? If the *firſt fruits* be ſo precious, what wil the *whole harveſt* be? if ſome *beginnings* be ſo ful of joy, what will it be when God ſhall *perform* his *whole* work, when *the whole earth ſhall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea*, and Eaſt and Weſt ſhal ſing together the ſong of the Lamb? Pſa 27. Re 15. Pſa 9. Iſa 10.

In *order* to this what doth God *require* of us, but that we ſhould *ſtrengthen* the hands, *incourage* the hearts of thoſe who are at *work* for him, *conflicting* with difficulties, *wreſtling* with diſcouragements, to *ſpread* the Goſpel, & in that, the *fame* and honor of this Nation, to the *utmoſt* ends of the earth? It was the *deſign* of your *enemies* to make them *little*, let it be your *endevor* to *make* them *great*, their *greatneſſe* is your ſtrength. Their enemies threatned *their* hands ſhould *reach* them for evil, God *diſappointed* them; And let your *hands* reach them now for good; there is enough in them to ſpeak then fit *objects* of your incouragement, they are men of *choice* ſpirits, not *frighted* with dangers, *ſoftned* with allurements, nor

diſcouraged with difficulties, *preparing* the way of the Lord in thoſe *unpaſſable* places of the earth, dealing with ſuch *whom* they are to *make* men, before they can *make* them Chriſtians. They are ſuch who are *impreſſed* for your ſervice in the *ſervice* of Chriſt, can *ſtand* alone, but deſire to have *dependence* on you, they feare not the *malice* of their enemies, but *deſire* the countenance and incouragement of their friends; And ſhal your *Honors* in *conſideration* of their *former* ſufferings, their *preſent* ſervice, and *reall* deſervings, *help the day of ſmall things among them*; ſhal you intereſt them in your aſſiſtances, as you are intereſſed in their affections, you wil thereby not only *further* theſe *beginnings* of God by *incouraging* their hearts, and *ſtrengthniug* their hands to *work* for him, but alſo (as we humbly conceive) much add to the *comfort* of your owne *accounts* in the day of the Lord, and lay greater obligations on them *yet more* to *pray* for you, to *promote* your counſels, and together with us your *unworthy ſervants* to *write down* themſelves,

Yours humbly devoted in the ſervice of the Goſpel.

Stephen Marſhall	*John Downam*	*Tho. Goodwin*
Jeremy Whitaker	*Philip Nye*	*Tho. Caſe*
Edm. Calamy	*Syd. Sympſon*	*Simeon Aſhe*
William Greenhill	*William Carter*	*Samuel Bolton,*

To

TO THE

Godly and well affected of this Kingdome of *ENGLAND*;

who pray for, and rejoyce in, the thrivings of the Gospel of our *LORD JESUS*.

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Christian Reader,

IF ever thou hadst experience of this day of power, these visitations of Christ upon thine own spirit; I suppose thee to be one who hast embarqu'd many prayers for the successe of the Gospel in these darke corners of the earth; to strengthen thy faith, inlarge thy heart, and assure thy soul that God is a God hearing prayers: An account is here given to thee of the conquests of the Lord Iesus upon these poor out-casts, who have thus long been estranged from him, spilt like water upon the ground and none to gather them. Formerly thou had, The Day-break, some dawnings of light, after a long and black night of darkenes, here thou seest the sun is up, which wee hope will rejoice like the strong man to run its race, scattering those thick clouds of darknesse, and shining brighter and brighter till it come to a perfect day. These few sheets give thee some footing for such thoughts, and some further incouragements to wait & pray for the accomplishment of such things. Here thou mayst see, the Ministry is precious, the feet of them who bring glad tidings beautifull, Ordinances desired, the Word frequented and attended, the Spirit also going forth in power and efficacy with it, in awakening and humbling of them, drawing forth those affections of sorrow, and expressions of tears in abundance, which no tortures or extremities were ever observed to force from them, with lamenting: we read here, their leaving of sinne, they forsake their former evill wayes, and set up fences never to re-

turne, by making laws *for the* punishment *of those sins wherein they have lived, and to which they have been so much addicted. They set up* prayers *in their families* morning *and* evening, *and are in* earnest *in them; And with more* affection *they* crave *Gods blessing upon a little p rched corn, &* Indian *stalks, then many of us do upon our greatest plenty and abundance. They* rest *on the Lords day, and make laws for the* observation *of it, wherein they* meet *together to pray & instruct one another in the things of God, which have been* communicated *to them. They renounce their* diabolicall *Charmes and Charmers, and many of those who were* practitioners *in these sinfull and soul-undoing Arts, being made naked,* convinced *and ashamed of their evill,* forsake *their* 16. *way, and betake themselves to prayer, preferring the* Christian Charm, *before their* diabolical Spells: *herein God making good* io, *that promise Zeph.* 2. 11. I will famish al the Gods of the earth, io. *(which he doth by withdrawing the worshippers, and throwing* 7. *contempt upon the worship)* And men shal worship me alone e- 0. 11. very one from his place, even all the Isles of the Heathens.

All these are hopefull presages *that God is* going *out in his* power *and grace to* conquer *a people to himself; That he begins* 16. *to cast an* owning *look on them, whom he hath so long* neglected 30. *&* despised. *And indeed God may wel* seek *out for other* ground *to sow the seed of his* Ordinances *upon, seeing the* ground *where it hath been* sown *hath brought forth no* better *fruit to him, he may well* bespeak *another people to himself, seeing he* finds *no better* entertainment *among the people he hath* espoused *to him, and that by so many* mercies, priviledges, indeerments, ingagements. *We have as many* sad symptomes *of a* declining, *as these poor outcasts have* glad presages *of a* Rising *Sun among them. The* Ordinances *are as much* contemned *here, as* frequented *there; the* Ministery *as much* discouraged *here, as* embraced *there;* Religion *as much derided, the* ways *of godlinesse as much* scorned *here, as they can be* wished *and desired there; generally wee are* sick *of plenty, wee surfet of our abundance, the worst of Surfets, and with our* loathed Manna *and* disdained *food, God*

preparing *them a* Table *in the wildernes, where our* ſatieties, *wil be their* ſufficiencies; *our* complaints, *their* contents; *our* burthens, *their* comforts; *if he cannot have an* England *here, he can have an* England *there; & baptize & adopt them into thoſe* priviledges, *which wee have* looked *upon as our burthens. We have* ſad decayes *upon us, we are a* revolting *Nation, a people* guilty *of great* defection *from God. Some fall from the* worſhip *of God to their old* ſuperſtitions, *and corrupt worſhip, ſaying with thoſe in Ieremy,* It was better with us then now. *Some fall from the* doctrin *of grace to errors, ſome to* damnable, *others to* defiling, *ſome to* deſtructive, *others to* corruptive *opinions. Some fal from* profeſſed *ſeeming holynes to ſin & profanenes, who like* blazing *comets did ſhine* bright *for a time, but after have* ſet *in a* night *of darknes. We have many* ſad ſymptomes *on us, we* decay *under all the* means *of nouriſhment, are* barren *under all Gods* ſowings, dry *under al the* dews, *droppings ſhowres of heven, like that Country whereof* Hiſtorians *ſpeak,* where drought cauſeth dirt, and ſhowres cauſeth duſt. *And what doth God* threaten *herein, but to* remove *the* Candleſticks, *to take away the Goſpel, that* pretious *Goſpel, the* ſtreams *whereof have brought ſo many* ſhips *laden with bleſſings to our ſhoar, that Goſpel under the* ſhadow *whereof we have* ſate *down and been* refreſhed *theſe many years? where the* power *is loſt, God will not* long *continue the* form, *where the* heat *is gone, he wil not* long *continue the light. The* temple *did not* preſerve *the Iews when their* hearts *were the* Synagogues *of Satan, nor ſhall any* outward priviledge *hold us up, when the* inward power *is down in our ſpirits. God hath* forſaken *other* Churches *as eminent as ever* England *was: where are the* churches *of* Aſia, *once* famous *for the goſpel, for general* Councels, *now places for* Zim *and* Ochim, *their* habitation *deſolate? where are thoſe* ancient *people of the Iews who were (ſegulla micol hagnâmim)* his peculiar and choſen people of al nations? *they are* ſcattered *abroad as a curſe, and their* place *knows them no more. And ſhall I tel you? God hath no* need *of us, he can cal them* Gnammi, *his people, who were* Lo gnammi, *not his*

Siccitas tum, imb pulveres

people, and them beloved, *who were not* beloved. *Indeed he hath* held *up us, as if he had not* known *where to have* another *people, if he should* forsake *us; we have been a* Goshen, *when others have been an* Egypt, *a* Canaan, *when others an* Akeldama, *the* garden *of God, when others have been a wilderness, our* fleece *hath been* wet, *when others have been* dry: *But* know, *God hath no need of us, he can* want *no people if he* please *to call; If he speake,* all the
27,28. ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and
9,10. all the kindreds of the Nations shall worship before him. *If he set up his* standard, to him shal the Gentiles flock, *and* the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. *It is not for* need *but for* love *that God abides with* Eng-
eus, non hoc ed ipse e amat. land, *and there is nothing out of himselfe the* incentive *of this love: there can be no* reason *given why God should* fence *us, and* suffer *other places to lye wast, that we should bee his* Garden, *and other places a* Wildernes, *that he should* feed *us with the* bread *of Heaven, and* suffer *others to* starve, *men of the same mould, his* offspring *as well as we, and such* (*did he* conquer *to himselfe*) *were likely to doe him* more *service, bring him* more *glory then we have done. Wee see something here done in order to such a work, our* Harvest *is much over, we see little incomes, there we see the* fields are ripe for harvest; *here the* ministry *is contemned,* there *the* feet of them that bring glad tydings are beautifull; *we have* outlived *the power and efficacy of Ordinances, there God goes forth with* life *and power; we can* outsit *the most speaking and* winning discoveries *of Christ, there every* notion, *breeds* motion *in them; the* glory *of the Lord is much* departed *from us, there his* rising *is conspicuous and glorious. The* blind *man found it* good *to be in the* way *where Christ came: And who would be in* Ægypt *when there is* light *in* Goshen? *Oh that* England *would be* quickned *by their risings, and* weep *over her own declinings! What a* wonder *is it that they should doe* so much, *and we* so little, *that they should be* men *in their infancy, and we such* children *in our* manhood, *that they so active, we so*

dead

dead? That which was Hieroms *complaint may be ours*, O that Infidelity ſhould do that which thoſe who profeſſe themſelvs beleevers cannot do! *We have the* light *of former times, but want the* heat, *knowledge* abounds *as the* waters cover *the ſea, but we* want *the ſalt*; *we have a* form *of Godlineſſe, but want the* power: *And it wil be* ſmal *comfort ſhould God* continue *to us the form, and* cary *to others the* power, *to ſuffer us to* waſt *our ſelvs with* unneceſſary *brangles (which are the* ſweat *of the times) and in the mean to cary the life and* power *of* Religion *unto others.*

Heal quod ſtat inho quod no ſtirit hdc Ignis qu rentibus Caſi ſus, bis Luci.

Let theſe poor Indians *ſtand up* incentives *to us, as the Apoſtle ſet up the* Gentiſes *a* provocation *to the Iews: who knows but* Rom 11 *God* gave *life to* New England, *to* quicken Old, *and hath* warmed *them, that they might* heat *us*, raiſed *them from the dead, that they might* recover *us from that conſumption, and thoſe ſad* decayes *which are come upon us?*

This ſmal Treatiſe *is an* Eſſay *to that end, an* Indian Sermon, *though you will not* hear *us, poſſibly when ſome* riſe *from the* dead *you will* hear *them. The main* Doctrin *it preacheth unto all, is to* value *the Goſpel*, prize *the Miniſtry*, loath *not your Manna, ſurfet not of your plenty, be* thankfull *for mercies*, fruitfull *under means:* Awake *from your ſlumber*, repair *your decayes*, redeem *your time*, improve *the ſeaſons of your peace*; anſwer *to cals*, open *to knocks*, attend *to whiſpers*, obey *commands*; *you have a* name *you live, take heed you bee not* dead, *you are* Chriſtians *in* ſhew, *be ſo* indeed: *leaſt as you have* loſt *the power, God take away from you the form alſo.*

And you that are Miniſters *learn by this not to* deſpond *though you ſee not* preſent *fruit of your labors*, though you fiſh all night and catch nothing. *God hath a* fulneſſe *of time to* perform *all his purpoſes. And the* deepeſt *degeneracies, & wideſt eſtrangements from God, ſhall be no* bar *or obſtacle to the* power *and freeneſſe of his owne grace when that* time *is come.*

And you that are Merchants, *take* incouragement *from hence to* ſcatter *the beames of light, to* ſpread *and propagate the* Goſpel

into those dark corners *of the earth; whither you* traffick *you* take much *from them, if you can* carry *this to them, you wil make them an* abundant *recompence. And you that are* Christians *indeed, rejoice to see the* Curtaines *of the Tabernacle inlarged, the* bounds *of the Sanctuary extended,* Christ *advanced, the* Gospel *propagated, and* souls *saved. And if ever the love of God did* center *in your hearts, if ever the* sense *of his goodness hath begot* bowels *of compassion in you, draw them forth* towards *them whom God hath* singled *out to be the* objects *of his grace and mercy; lay out your prayers, lend your assistance to carry on this* day of the Lord *begun among them. They are not able (as* Moses *said)* to bear the burthen of that people alone, *to make* provision *for the* children *whom God hath given them, & therefore it is requisite the* spiritual community *should help to bear part with them. Many of the* young ones *are given and taken in, to be* educated *& brought up in* Schooles, *they are* naked *and must be* clad, *they* want *all things, and must be* supplyed. *The Parents also, and many others being convinced of the evill of an* idle life, *desire to be* employed *in honest labor, but they want* instruments *and tooles to set them on work, and* cast-garments *to throw upon those bodies,* that their loins may blesse you, *whose* souls *Christ hath loathed. Some* worthy persons *have given much; and if God shall* move *the heart of others to* offer willingly *towards the building of Christ a* Spirituall temple, *it will certainly* remain *upon their account, when the* smallest rewards *from God, shall be better then the greatest layings out for God. But we are making a relation, not a collection; we leave the whole to your Christian consideration, not doubting but they who have tasted of mercy from God, will be ready to exercise compassion to others,*

9. 14. *& commend you unto him* who gave himself for us, that hee might redeem us from all iniquity, and pnrifie *as well as purchase* unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

Stephen Marshall *John Downam* *Tho. Goodwin*
Jer. Whitaker *Philip Nye* *Tho. Case*
Edmund Calamy *Sy. Simpson* *Simeon Ashe*
[illegible]

THE CLEARE SVNSHINE OF THE GOSPELL, Breaking forth upon the INDIANS in *New-England*.

John Carter Brown Library

Much Honored and deare Sir,

THat glorious and sudden rising of Christ Jesus upon our poore *Indians* which began a little before you set saile from these shores, hath not beene altogether clouded since, but rather broken out further into more light and life, wherewith the most High hath visited them; and because some may call in question the truth of the first relation, either because they may thinke it too good newes to be true, or because some persons maligning the good of the Countrey, are apt, as to aggravate to the utmost any evill thing against it, so to vilifie and extenuate any good thing in it: and because your selfe desired to heare how farre since God hath carried on that worke, which your owne eyes saw here begun; I shall therefore as faithfully and as briefly as I can, give you a true relation of the progresse of it, which I hope may be a sufficient confirmation of what hath been published to

the world before, having this as the chiefe end in my owne eye, that the precious Saints and people of God in *England*, beleeving what hath been and may bee reported to them, of these things, may help forward this work together with us by their prayers and prayses, as we desire to doe the like for the worke of Christ begun among them there. I dare not speake too much, nor what I thinke about their conversion, I have seen so much falsenesse in that point among many English, that I am slow to beleeve herein too haltily concerning these poore naked men; onely this is evident to all honest hearts that dwell neer them, and have observed them, that the work of the Lord upon them (what ever it bee) is both unexpected and wonderfull in so short a time; I shall set downe things as they are, and then your selfe and others to whom these may come, may judge as you please of them.

Soon after your departure hence, the awakening of these *Indians* in our Towne raised a great noyse among all the rest round about us, especially about *Concord* side where the * *Sachim* (as I remember) and one or two more of his men, hearing of these things and of the preaching of the Word, and how it wrought among them here, came therefore hither to * *Noonanetum* to the *Indian* Lecture, and what the Lord spake to his heart wee know not, only it seems hee was so farre affected, as that he desired to become more like to the English, and to cast off those *Indian* wild and sinfull courses they formerly lived in; but when divers of his men perceived their *Sachims* mind, they secretly opposed him herein; which opposition being known, he therefore called together his chiefe men about him, & made a speech to this effect unto them, "*viz.* That they had no reason at all to oppose those courses the "English were now taking for their good, for (saith hee) all the "time you have lived after the *Indian* fashion under the power "and protection of higher *Indian Sachems*, what did they care "for you? they only sought their owne ends out of you, and "therefore would exact upon you, and take away your skins and "your *Kettles* & your *Wampam* from you at their own pleasure, "& this was all that they regarded: but you may evidently see that "the English mind no such things, care for none of your goods, "but onely seeke your good and welfare, and in stead of taking "away, are ready to give to you; with many other things I now

forget

* inferiour ce.

* Indian so called.

forget, which were related by an eminent man of that town to me. What the effect of this speech was, we can tell no otherwise then as the effects shewed it; the first thing was, the making of certain Lawes for their more religious and civill government and behaviour, to the making of which, they craved the assistance of one of the chiefe *Indians* in *Noonanetum*, a very active *Indian* to bring in others to the knowledge of God; desiring withall an able faithfull man in *Concord* to record and keep in writing what they had generally agreed upon. Another effect was, their desire of * Mr. *Eliots* coming up to them, to preach, as he could find time among them; and the last effect was, their desire of having a Towne given them within the bounds of *Concord* neare unto the English. This latter when it was propounded by the *Sachim* of the place, he was demanded why hee desired a towne so neare, when as there was more roome for them up in the Country. To which the *Sachim* replyed, that he therefore desired it because he knew that if the *Indians* dwelt far from the English, that they would not so much care to pray, nor would they be so ready to heare the Word of God, but they would be all one *Indians* still; but dwelling neare the English he hoped it might bee otherwise with them then. The Town therefore was granted them; but it seemes that the opposition made by some of themselves more malignantly set against these courses, hath kept them from any present setling downe: and surely this opposition is a speciall finger of *Satan* resisting these budding beginnings; for what more hopefull way of doing them good then by cohabitation in such Townes, neare unto good examples, and such as may be continually whetting upon them, and dropping into them of the things of God? what greater meanes at least to civilize them? as is evident in the *Cusco* and *Mexico Indians*, more civill then any else in this vast Continent that wee know of, who were reduced by the politick principles of the two great conquering Princes of those Countries after their long and tedious wars, from these wild and wandring course of life, unto a setling into particular Townes and Cities: but I forbear, only to confirme the truth of these things, I have sent you the orders agreed on at *Concord* by the *Indians*, under the hand of two faithfull witnesses, who could testifie more, if need were, of these matters: I have sent you their

* Teacher of the Church of *Roxbury*, that preacheth to *Indians* in their own Languag

owne Copy and their own hands to it, which I have here inserted.

Conclusions and Orders made and agreed upon by divers Sachims and other principall men amongst the Indians at Concord, *in the end of the eleventh moneth, An.* 1646.

1. THat every one that shall abuse themselves with wine or strong liquors, shall pay for every time so abusing themselves, 20 *s.*
2. That there shall be no more *Pawwowing* amongst the *Indians*. And if any shall hereafter * *Pawwow*, both he that shall *Powwow*, & he that shall procure him to *Powwow*, shall pay 20 *s.* apeece.
3. They doe desire that they may be stirred up to seek after God.
4. They desire they may understand the wiles of Satan, and grow out of love with his suggestions, and temptations.
5. That they may fall upon some better course to improve their time, then formerly.
6. That they may be brought to the sight of the sinne of lying, and whosoever shall be found faulty herein shall pay for the first offence 5 *s.* the second 10 *s.* the third 20 *s.*
7. Whosoever shall steale any thing from another, shall restore fourfold.
8. They desire that no *Indian* hereafter shall have any more but one wife.
9. They desire to prevent falling out of *Indians* one with another, and that they may live quietly one by another.
10. That they may labour after humility, and not be proud.
11. That when *Indians* doe wrong one to another, they may be lyable to censure by *fine* or the like, as the *English* are.
12. That they pay their debts to the *English*.
13. That they doe observe the Lords-Day, and whosoever shall prophane it shall pay 20 *s.*
14. That there shall not be allowance to *pick Lice*, as formerly, and eate them, and whosoever shall offend in this case shall pay for every louse a penny.

15. They

awwows are itches or rcerers that e by help he devill.

15. They will weare their *haire* comely, as the *Englifh* do, and whofoever fhall offend herein fhall pay 5 *s.*
16. They intend to reforme themfelves, in their former greafing themfelves, under the Penalty of 5 *s.* for every default.
17. They doe all refolve to fet up prayer in their *wigwams*, and to feek to God both before and after meate.
18. If any commit the finne of fornication, being fingle perfons, the man fhall pay 20 *s.* and the woman 10 *s.*
19. If any man lie with a beaft he fhall die.
20. Whofoever fhall play at their former games fhall pay 10 *s.*
21. Whofoever fhall commit adultery fhall be put to death.
22. Wilfull Murder fhall be punifhed with death.
23. They fhall not difguife themfelves in their mournings, as formerly, nor fhall they keep a great noyfe by howling.
24. The old Ceremony of the Maide walking alone and living apart fo many dayes 20 *s.*
25. No *Indian* fhall take an Engliſh mans **Canoe* without leave under the penaltie of 5 *s.*
26. No *Indian* fhall come into any *Englifh* mans houfe except he firft knock: and this they expect from the *Englifh*.
27. Whofoever beats his wife fhall pay 20 *s.*
28. If any *Indian* fhall fall out with, and beate another *Indian*, he fhall pay 20 *s.*
29. They defire they may bee a towne, and either to dwell on this fide the *Beare Swamp*, or at the Eaft fide of Mr. *Flints Pond*.

A Wigwam is fuch a dwelling houfe as they live in.

\+ A Canoe a fmall Boat.

Immediatly after thefe things were agreed upon, moft of the *Indians* of thefe parts, fet up Prayer morning and evening in their families, and before and after meat. They alfo generally cut their haire, and were more civill in their carriage to the *Englifh* then formerly. And they doe manifeft a great willingneffe to conform themfelves to the civill faſhions of the *Englifh*. The Lords day they keepe a day of reft, and minifter what edification they can to one another. Thefe former orders were put into this forme by Captaine *Simond Willard* of *Concord*, whom the *Indians* with unanimous conſent intreated to bee their Recorder, being very ſolicitous that what they did agree upon might be faithfully preſerved without alteration.

Thomas Flint. *Simon Willard.*

These things thus wrought in a short time about *Concord* side, I looke upon as fruits of the ministery of the Word; for although their high esteem bred lately in them, especially the chief and best of the *English*, together with that mean esteem many of them have of themselves, and therefore will call themselves sometimes *poore Creatures*, when they see and heare of their great distance from others of the English; I say, although these things may be some causes of making these orders and walking in these courses, yet the chiefe cause seemes to bee the power of the Word, which hath been the chiefe cause of these Orders, and therefore it is that untill now of late they never so much as thought of any of these things.

I am not able to acquaint you very much from my owne eye and eare witnesse of things, for you know the neare relation between me and the fire side usually all winter time, onely I shall impart two or three things more of what I have heard and seen, and the rest I shall relate to you as I have received from faithfull witnesses, who testifie nothing to me by their writings, but what is seene in the open Sun, and done in the view of all the world, and generally known to be true of people abiding in these parts wee live in.

As soone as ever the fiercenesse of the winter was past, March. 3. 1647. I went out to *Noonanetum* to the *Indian* Lecture, where Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Allen*, of *Dedham*, Mr. *Dunster*, beside many other Christians were present; on which day perceiving divers of the *Indian* women well affected, and considering that their soules might stand in need of answer to their scruples as well as the mens; & yet because we knew how unfit it was for women so much as to aske questions publiquely immediatly by themselves; wee did therefore desire them to propound any questions they would bee resolved about by first acquainting either their Husbands, or the Interpreter privately therewith: whereupon we heard two questions thus orderly propounded; which because they are th first that ever were propounded by *Indian* women in such an ordinance that ever wee heard of, and because they may bee otherwise usefull, I shall therefore set them downe.

The first question was propounded by the wife of one *Wampoos* a well affected *Indian*, viz. "Whether (said she) do I pray when "my

" my husband prayes if I speak nothing as he doth, yet if I like " what he saith, and my heart goes with it? (for the *Indians* will many times pray with their wives, and with their children also sometime in the fields) shee therefore fearing lest prayer should onely be an externall action of the lips, enquired if it might not be also an inward action of the heart, if she liked of what he said.

The second question was propounded by the Wife of one *Tatherswampe*, her meaning in her question (as wee all perceived) was this, *viz.* " Whether a husband should do well to pray with his " wife, and yet continue in his passions, & be angry with his wife? But the modesty and wisdome of the woman directed her to doe three things in one, for thus shee spake to us, *viz.* " Before my " husband did pray hee was much angry and froward, but " since hee hath begun to pray hee was not angry so much, " but little angry: wherein first shee gave an honorable testimony of her husband and commended him for the abatement of his passion; secondly, shee gave implicitly a secret reproofe for what was past, and for somewhat at present that was amisse; and thirdly, it was intended by her as a question whether her husband should pray to God, and yet continue in some unruly passions; but she wisely avoyded that, lest it might reflect too much upon him, although wee desired her to expresse if that was not her meaning.

At this time (beside these questions) there were sundry others propounded of very good use, in all which we saw the Lord Jesus leading them to make narrow inquiries into the things of God, that so they might see the reality of them. I have heard few Christians when they begin to looke toward God, make more searching questions that they might see things really, and not onely have a notion of them: I forbeare to mention any of them, because I forget the chiefe of them; onely this wee tooke notice of at this dayes meeting, that there was an aged *Indian* who proposed his complaint in propounding his question concerning an unruly disobedient son, and " what one should do with him " in case of obstinacy and disobedience, and that will not heare " Gods Word, though his Father command him, nor will not " forsake his drunkennesse, though his father forbid him? Unto which there were many answers to set forth the sinne of disobe-

dience to parents; which were the more quickned and sharpned because wee knew that this rebellious sonne whom the old man meant, was by Gods providence present at this Lecture: Mr. *Wilson* was much inlarged, and spake so terribly, yet so graciously as might have affected a heart not quite shut up, which this young *desperado* hearing (who well understood the *English* tongue) instead of humbling himself before the Lords Word, which touched his conscience and condition so neare, hee was filled with a spirit of Satan, and as soone as ever Mr. *Wilsons* speech was ended hee brake out into a loud contemptuous expression; *So*, saith he: which we passed by without speaking againe, leaving the Word with him, which we knew would one day take its effect one way or other upon him.

The latter end of this yeare Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Eliot*, and my selfe were sent for by those in *Yarmouth* to meet with some other Elders of *Plimouth pattent*, to heare and heale (if it were the will of Christ) the difference and sad breaches which have been too long a time among them, wherein the Lord was very mercifull to us and them in binding them up beyond our thoughts in a very short time, in giving not only that bruised Church but the whole Towne also a hopefull beginning of setled peace and future quietnesse; but Mr. *Eliot* as hee takes all other advantages of time, so hee tooke this, of speaking with, and preaching to the poore *Indians* in these remote places about *Cape Cod*: in which journey I shall acquaint you with what all of us observed.

Wee first found these *Indians* (not very farre from ours) to understand (but with much difficulty) the usuall language of those in our parts, partly in regard of the different dialect which generally varies in 40. or 60. miles, and partly and especially in regard of their not being accustomed unto sacred language about the holy things of God, wherein Mr. *Eliot* excells any other of the *English*, that in the *Indian* language about common matters excell him: I say therefore although they did with much difficulty understand him, yet they did understand him, although by many circumlocutions and variations of speech and the helpe of one or two Interpreters which were then present.

Secondly, wee observed much opposition against him, and hearing of him at the day appointed, especially by one of the chiefest

Sachims

Sachims in those parts, a man of a fierce, strong and furious spirit whom the *English* therefore call by the name *John*: who although before the day appointed for preaching, promised very faire that he would come and bring his men with him; yet that very morning when they were to bee present, he sends out almost all his men to Sea, pretending fishing, and therefore although at last he came late himselfe to the Sermon, yet his men were absent, and when he came himself, would not seem to understand any thing, although hee did understand as some of the *Indians* themselves then told us, when Mr. *Eliot* by himself and by them inquired of him if he understood what was spoken: yet he continued hearing what was said with a dogged looke and a discontented countenance.

Thirdly, notwithstanding this opposition wee found another *Sachim* then present willing to learne, and divers of his men attentive and knowing what was said: and in the time which is usually set apart for propounding questions, an aged *Indian* told us openly, "That these very things which Mr. *Eliot* had taught "them as the Commandements of God, and concerning God, "and the making of the world by one God, that they had heard "some old men who were now dead, to say the same things, "since whose death there hath been no remembrance or know-"ledge of them among the *Indians* untill now they heare of them againe. Which when I heard solemnly spoken, I could not tell how those old *Indians* should attaine to such knowledge, unlesse perhaps by means of the *French* Preacher cast upon those coasts many yeers since, by whose ministry they might possibly reape and retaine some knowledge of those things; this also I hear by a godly and able Christian who hath much converse with them; that many of them have this apprehension now stirring among them, *viz.* "That their forefathers did know God, "but that after this, they fell into a great sleep, and when they did "awaken they quite forgot him, (for under such metaphoricall language they usually expresse what eminent things they meane:) so that it may seeme to be the day of the Lords gracious visitation of these poore Natives, which is just as it is with all other people, when they are most low, the wheele then turnes, and the Lord remembers to have mercy.

Fourthly, a fourth and last observation wee took, was the story of an *Indian* in those parts, telling us of his dreame many yeers since, which he told us of openly before many witnesses when we sate at meat: the dreame is this, hee said "That about two yeers "before the *English* came over into those parts there was a great "mortality among the *Indians*, and one night he could not sleep "above half the night, after which hee fell into a dream, in "which he did think he saw a great many men come to those "parts in cloths, just as the *English* now are apparelled, and a-"mong them there arose up a man all in black, with a thing in "his hand which hee now sees was all one *English* mans book; "this black man he said stood upon a higher place then all the "rest, and on the one side of him were the *English*, on the other a "great number of *Indians*: this man told all the *Indians* that "God was *mooſquantum* or angry with them, and that he would "kill them for their sinnes, whereupon he said himself stood up, "and desired to know of the black man what God would do with "him and his *Squaw* and *Papooses* but the black man would not "answer him a first time, nor yet a second time, untill he desired "the third time, and then he smil'd upon him, and told him "that he and his *Papooses* should be safe, and that God would "give unto them *Mitcheu*, (*i. e.*) victualls and other good "things, and so hee awakened. What similitude this dream hath with the truth accomplished, you may easily see. I attribute little to dreams, yet God may speak to such by them rather then to those who have a more sure Word to direct and warn them, yet this dream made us think surely this *Indian* will regard the black man now come among them rather then any others of them: but whether Satan, or fear, and guilt, or world prevailed, we cannot say, but this is certaine, that he withdrew from the Sermon, and although hee came at the latter end of it, as hoping it had been done, yet we could not perswade him then to stay and hear, but away he flung, and we saw him no more till next day.

From this third of *March* untill the latter end of this Summer I could not be present at the *Indian* Lectures, but when I came this last time, I marvailed to see so many *Indian* men, women and children in *English* apparell, they being at *Noonantum* generally clad, especially upon Lecture dayes, which they have got

partly

partly by gift from the *Engliſh*, and partly by their own labours, by which ſome of them have very handſomely apparelled themſelves, & you would ſcarce know them from *Engliſh* people. There is one thing more which I would acquaint you with, which happened this Summer, *viz. June* 9. the firſt day of the Synods meeting at *Cambridge*, where the forenoon was ſpent in hearing a Sermon preached by one of the *Elders* as a preparative to the worke of the Synod, the afternoon was ſpent in hearing an *Indian* Lecture where there was a great confluence of *Indians* all parts to heare Mr. *Eliot*, which we conceived not unſeaſonable at ſuch a time, partly that the reports of Gods worke begun among them, might be ſeen and beleeved of the chief who were then ſent and met from all the Churches of Chriſt in the Countrey, who could hardly beleeve the reports they had received concerning theſe new ſtirs among the *Indians*, and partly hereby to raiſe up a greater ſpirit of prayer for the carrying on of the work begun upon the *Indians*, among all the Churches and ſervants of the Lord Jeſus: The Sermon was ſpent in ſhewing them their miſerable condition without Chriſt, out of *Epheſ.* 2. 1. that they were dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes, and in pointing unto them the Lord Jeſus, who onely could quicken them.

When the Sermon was done, there was a convenient ſpace of time ſpent in hearing thoſe queſtions which the *Indians* publikely propounded, and in giving anſwers to them; one queſtion was, *What Countrey man Chriſt was, and where he was borne?*

Another was, *How farre off that place was from us here?*

Another was, *Where Chriſt now was?*

And another, *How they might lay hold on him, and where, being now abſent from them?* with ſome other to this purpoſe; which received full anſwers from ſeverall hands. But that which I note is this, that their gracious attention to the Word, the affections and mournings of ſome of them under it, their ſober propounding of divers ſpirituall queſtions, their aptneſſe to underſtand and beleeve what was replyed to them, the readineſſe of divers poore naked children to anſwer openly the chief queſtions in Catechiſm which were formerly taught them, and ſuch like appearances of a great change upon them, did marvellouſly affect all the wiſe and godly Miniſters, Magiſtrates, & people, and did

raise their hearts up to great thankfulnesse to God; very many deeply and abundantly mourning for joy to see such a blessed day, and the Lord Jesus so much known and spoken of among such as never heard of him before: So that if any in *England* doubt of the truth of what was formerly writ, or if any malignant eye shall question and vilifie this work, they will now speak too late, for what was here done at *Cambridge* was not set under a Bushell, but in the open Sunne, that what *Thomas* would not beleeve by the reports of others, he might be forced to beleeve, by seeing with his own eyes and feeling Christ Jesus thus risen among them with his own hands.

I have done with what I have observed my self; I shall therefore proceed to give you a true relation of what I have heard from others, and many faithfull witnesses have seene: and first I shall speake a little more of the old man who is mentioned in the story now in print; this old man hath much affection stirred up by the Word, and comming to Mr. *Eliots* house (for of him I had this story) Mr. *Eliot* told him that because he brought his wife & all his children constantly to the Lecture, that he would therefore bestow some Cloths upon him, (it being now winter & the old man naked:) which promise he not certainly understanding the meaning of, asked therefore of another *Indian* (who is Mr. *Eliots* servant and very hopefull) what it was that Mr. *Eliot* promised him? he told him that hee said hee would give him some Cloths; which when hee understood, hee affectionately brake out into these expressions, *God I see is mercifull*: a blessed, because a plain hearted affectionate speech, and worthy *English* mens thoughts when they put on their Cloths; to thinke that a poor blind *Indian* that scarce ever heard of God before, that he should see not only God in his Cloths, but mercy also in a promise of a cast off worne sute of Cloths, which were then given him, and which now he daily weares. But to proceed;

This same old man (as I think a little before hee had these Cloths) after an *Indian* Lecture, when they usually come to propound questions; instead of asking a question, began to speak to the rest of the *Indians*, and brake out into many expressions of wondring at Gods goodnesse unto them, that the Lord should at last look upon them and send his Word as a light unto them

that

that had been in darkneſſe and ſuch groſſe ignorance ſo long; me wonder (ſaith he) at God that he ſhould thus deale with us. This ſpeech expreſſed in many words in the *Indian* Language, and with ſtrong actings of his eyes and hands, being interpreted afterward to the *Engliſh*, did much alſo affect all of them that were preſent this Lecture alſo.

There were this winter many other queſtions propounded, which were writ down by Mr. *Edward Jackſon* one of our Town, conſtantly preſent at theſe Lectures, to take notes both of the queſtions made by the *Indians* and returned by Mr. *Eliot* to them; this man having ſent me in his notes, I ſhall ſend you a taſt of ſome of them.

1 *Why ſome men were ſo bad, that they hate thoſe men that would teach them good things?*

2 *Whether the devill or man were made firſt?*

3 *Whether if a father prayes to God to teach his ſons to know him, and he doth teach them himſelf and they will not learn to know God, what ſhould ſuch fathers doe?* (this was propounded by an old man that had rude children.)

4 A **Squaw* propounded this queſtion, *Whether ſhe might not go & pray in ſome private place in the woods, when her husband was not at home, becauſe ſhe was aſhamed to pray in the Wigwam before company?*

* Indian woman.

5 *How may one know wicked men, who are good and who are bad?*

6 *To what Nation Jeſus Chriſt came firſt unto, and when?*

7 *If a man ſhould be incloſed in Iron a foot thick and thrown into the fire, what would become of his ſoule, whether could the ſoule come forth thence or not?*

8 *Why did not God give all men good hearts that they might bee good?*

9 *If one ſhould be taken among ſtrange Indians that know not God, and they would make him to fight againſt ſome that he ſhould not: and he refuſe, and for his refuſall they kill him, what would become of his ſoule in ſuch a caſe?* This was propounded by a *ſtout fellow who was affected.

* They hold that all their ſtout and valiant men have reward after death.

10 *How long it is before men beleeve that have the Word of God made known to them?*

11 *How they ſhould know when their faith is good, and their prayers good prayers?*

12 *Why did not God kill the Devill that made all men so bad, God having all power?*

13 *If we be made weak by sinne in our hearts, how can we come before God to sanctifie a Sabbath?*

There were many more questions of this kind, as also many Philosophicall about the Sunne, Moon, Stars, Earth and Seas, Thunder, Lightning, Earthquakes, &c. which I forbear to make mention of, lest I should clog your time with reading, together with the various answers to them: by these you may perceive in what streame their minds are carried, and that the Lord Jesus hath at last an enquiring people among these poor naked men, that formerly never so much as thought of him; which questionings and enquiries are accounted of by some as part of the whitenings of the harvest toward, wherever they are found among any people, the good and benefit that comes to them hereby is and will be exceeding great.

We had this year a malignant drunken *Indian*, that (to cast some reproach, as wee feared, upon this way) boldly propounded this question, Mr. *Eliot* (said he) *Who made Sack? who made Sack?* but he was soon snib'd by the other *Indians*, calling it * a *Papoose* question, and seriously and gravely answered (not so much to his question, as to his spirit) by Mr. *Eliot*, which hath cooled his boldnesse ever since, while others have gone on comfortably in this profitable and pleasant way.

* hat is a ildish questi-

The man who sent me these and the like questions with their severall answers in writing, concluded his letter with this story, which I shall here insert, that you may see the more of God among these poore people: "Upon the 25. of *April* last (saith he) "I had some occasion to go to speak with * *Wabun* about Sun-"rising in the morning, and staying some half an hours time, "as I came back by one of the *Wigwams*, the man of that *Wig-*"*wam* was at prayer; at which I was so much affected, that I "could not but stand under a Tree within hearing, though I "could not understand but little of his words, and consider that "God was fulfilling his Word, *viz. The ends of the earth shall* "*remember themselves and turne unto him*; and that Scripture, *Thou* "*art the God that heares prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.*

* n Indian im.

"Also this present *September* I have observed one of them to

"call

"call his children to him from their gathering of Corne in the "field, and to crave a blessing, with much affection, having but "a homely dinner to eate.

These things me thinkes should move bowels, and awaken *English* hearts to be thankfull, it is no small part of Religion to awaken with God in family prayer, (as it seemes these doe it early) and to crave a blessing with affectionate hearts upon a homely dinner, perhaps parcht Corne or *Indian* stalks: I wish the like hearts and wayes were seen in many *English* who professe themselves Christians, and that herein and many the like excellencies they were become *Indians*, excepting that name, as he did in another case, except his bonds: and that you may see not only how farre Religion, but civility hath taken place among them, you may be pleased therefore to peruse this Court Order, which is here inserted.

The Order made last Generall Court at Boston *the 26. of* May, 1647. *concerning the* Indians, &c.

VPon information that the *Indians* dwelling among us, and submitted to our government, being by the Ministry of the Word brought to some civility, are desirous to have a course of ordinary Judicature set up among them: It is therefore ordered by authority of this Court, that some one or more of the Magistrates, as they shall agree amongst themselves, shall once every quarter keep a Court at such place, where the *Indians* ordinarily assemble to hear the Word of God, and may then hear and determine all causes both civill and criminall, not being capitall, concerning the *Indians* only, and that the *Indian Sachims* shall have libertie to take order in the nature of Summons or Attachments, to bring any of their own people to the said Courts, and to keep a Court of themselves, every moneth if they see occasion, to determine small causes of a civill nature, and such smaller criminall causes, as the said Magistrates shall referre to them; and the said *Sachims* shall appoint Officers to serve Warrants, and to execute

execute the Orders and Judgements of either of the said Courts, which Officers shall from time to time bee allowed by the said Magistrates in the quarter Courts or by the Governour: And that all fines to bee imposed upon any *Indian* in any of the said Courts, shall goe and bee bestowed towards the building of some meeting houses, for education of their poorer children in learning, or other publick use, by the advice of the said Magistrates and of Master *Eliot*, or of such other Elder, as shall ordinarily instruct them in the true Religion. And it is the desire of this Court, that these Magistrates and Mr. *Eliot* or such other Elders as shall attend the keeping of the said Courts will carefully indeavour to make the Indians understand our most usefull Lawes, and the principles of reason, justice and equity whereupon they are grounded, & it is desired that some care may be taken of the *Indians* on the Lords dayes.

Thus having had a desire to acquaint you with these proceedings among the *Indians*, and being desirous that you might more fully understand, especially from him who is best able to judge, I did therefore intreat my brother *Eliot* after some conference about these things, to set down under his own hand what he hath observed lately among them: which I do therefore herein send unto you in his owne hand writing as he sent it unto mee, which I think is worthy all Christian thankfull eares to heare, and wherein they may see a little of the Spirit of this man of God, whom in other respects, but especially for his unweariedness in this work of God, going up and down among them and doing them good, I think we can never love nor honour enough.

The Letter of Mr. Eliot *to* T. S. *concerning the late work of God among the* Indians.

Deare Brother,

AT your desire I have wrote a few things touching the *Indians* which at present came to my mind, as being some of those passages which took principall impression in my heart, wherein

wherein I thought I saw the Lord, and said the finger of God is here.

That which I first aymed at was to declare & deliver unto them the Law of God, to civilize them, wch course the Lord took by *Moses*, to give the *Law* to that rude company because of transgression, *Gal.* 3. 19, to convince, bridle, restrain, and civilize them, and also to humble them. But when I first attempted it, they gave no heed unto it, but were weary, and rather despised what I said. A while after God stirred up in some of them a desire to come into the *English* fashions, and live after their manner, but knew not how to attain unto it, yea despaired that ever it should come to passe in their dayes, but thought that in 40. yeers more, some *Indians* would be all one *English*, and in an hundred yeers, all *Indians* here about, would so bee: which when I heard, (for some of them told me they thought so, and that some wise *Indians* said so) my heart moved within mee, abhorring that wee should sit still and let that work alone, and hoping that this motion in them was of the Lord, and that this mind in them was a preparative to imbrace the Law and Word of God; and therefore I told them that they and wee were already all one save in two things, which make the only difference betwixt them and us: First, we know, serve, and pray unto God, and they doe not: Secondly, we labour and work in building, planting, clothing our selves, &c. and they doe not: and would they but doe as wee doe in these things, they would be all one with *English* men: they said they did not know God, and therefore could not tell how to pray to him, nor serve him. I told them if they would learn to know God, I would teach them: unto which they being very willing, I then taught them (as I sundry times had indeavored afore) but never found them so forward, attentive and desirous to learn till this time, and then I told them I would come to their *Wigwams*, and teach them, their wives and children, which they seemed very glad of; and from that day forward I have not failed to doe that poore little which you know I doe.

I first began with the *Indians* of *Noonanetum*, as you know; those of *Dorchester mill* not regarding any such thing: but the better sort of them perceiving how acceptable this was to the English, both to Magistrates, and all the good people, it pleased God to step in and bow their hearts to desire to be taught to know God,

and pray unto him likewise, and had not I gone unto them also, and taught them when I did, they had prevented me, and desired me so to do, as I afterward heard.

The effect of the Word which appears among them, and the change that is among them is this: First, they have utterly forsaken all their *Powwaws*, and given over that diabolicall exercise, being convinced that it is quite contrary to praying unto God; yea sundry of their *Powwaws* have renounced their wicked imployment, have condemned it as evill, and resolved never to use it any more; others of them, seeing their imployment and gaines were utterly gone here, have fled to other places, where they are still entertained, and have raised lies, slanders, and an evill report upon those that heare the Word, and pray unto God, and also upon the English that indeavour to reclaime them and instruct them, that so they might discourage others from praying unto God, for that they account as a principall signe of a good man, and call all religion by that name, praying to God; and beside they mock and scoffe at those *Indians* which pray, and blaspheme God when they pray; as this is one instance. A sober *Indian* going up into the countrey with two of his sons, did pray (as his manner was at home) and talked to them of God and Jesus Christ: but they mocked, & called one of his sons *Jehovah*, and the other *Jesus Christ*: so that they are not without opposition raised by the *Powwaws*, and other wicked *Indians*.

Againe as they have forsaken their former Religion, and manner of worship, so they doe pray unto God constantly in their families, morning and evening, and that with great affection, as hath been seen and heard by sundry that have gone to their *Wigwams* at such times; as also when they goe to meat they solemnly pray and give thanks to God, as they see the English to doe: so that that curse which God threatens to poure out upon the families that call not on his name, is through his grace, and tender mercy stayed from breaking forth against them, and when they come to English houses, they desire to be taught; and if meat bee given them, they pray and give thanks to God: and usually expresse their great joy, that they are taught to know God, and their great affection to them that teach them.

Furthermore they are carefull to instruct their children, that so when I come they might be ready to answer their Catechize, which

which by the often repeating of it to the children, the men and women can readily answer to.

Likewise they are carefull to sanctifie the Sabbath, but at first they could not tell how to doe it, and they asked of mee how they should doe it, propounding it as a question whether they should come to the English meetings or meet among themselves; they said, if they come to the English meetings they understand nothing, or to no purpose, and if they met together among themselves, they had none that could teach them. I told them that it was not pleasing to God, nor profitable to themselves, to hear and understand nothing, nor having any that could interpret to them. Therefore I counselled them to meet together, and desire those that were the wisest and best men to pray, and then to teach the rest such things as I had taught them from Gods Word, as well as they could; and when one hath done, then let another do the like, and then a third, and when that was done aske questions, and if they could not answer them, then remember to aske me, &c. and to pray unto God to help them therein: and this is the manner how they spend their Sabbaths.

They are also strict against any prophanation of the Sabbath, by working, fishing, hunting, &c. and have a Law to punish such as are delinquents therein by a fine of 10 *s.* and sundry cases they have had, wherein they have very strictly prosecuted such as have any way prophaned the Sabbath. As for example, upon a Sabbath morning *Cutchamaquin* the *Sachim* his wife going to fetch water met with other women, and she began to talk of worldly matters, and so held on their discourse a while, which evill came to *Nahantons* eare, who was to teach that day (this *Nahanton* is a sober good man, and a true friend to the English ever since our coming) so he bent his discourse to shew the sanctification of the Sabbath, & reproved such evils as did violate the same; & among other things worldly talk, and thereupon reproved that which he heard of that morning. After hee had done, they fell to discourse about it, and spent much time therein, hee standing to prove that it was a sinne, and she doubting of it, seeing it was early in the morning, and in private; and alledging that he was more to blame then she, because he had occasioned so much discourse in the publick meeting: but in conclusion they determined

to refer the case to me, and accordingly they did come to my house on the second day morning and opened all the matter, and I gave them such direction as the Lord directed me unto, according to his holy Word.

Another case was this, upon a Lords day towards night two strangers came to *Wabans Wigwam* (it being usuall with them to travaile on that day, as on any other; (and when they came in, they told him that at a place about a mile off they had chased a *Rackoone*, and he betook himself into an hollow tree, and if they would goe with them, they might fell the tree and take him: at which tidings, *Waban* being willing to be so well provided to entertain those strangers (a common practise among them, freely to entertain travailers and strangers) he sent his two servants with them, who felled the tree, and took the beast. But this act of his was an offence to the rest, who judged it a violation of the Sabbath, and moved agitation among them: but the conclusion was, it was to bee moved as a question upon the next Lecture day; which was accordingly done, and received such answer as the Lord guided unto by his Word.

Another case was this, upon a Lords day their publick meetting holding long, and somewhat late, when they came at home, in one *Wigwam* the fire was almost out, and therefore the man of the house, as he sate by the fire side took his Hatchet and split a little dry peece of wood, which they reserve on purpose for such use, and so kindled his fire, which being taken notice of, it was thought to bee such a worke as might not lawfully be done upon the Sabbath day, and therefore the case was propounded the Lecture following for their better information.

These instances may serve to shew their care of the externall observation of the Sabbath day.

In my exercise among them (as you know) wee attend foure things, besides prayer unto God, for his presence and blessing upon all we doe.

First, I catechize the children and youth; wherein some are very ready & expert, they can readily say all the Commandements, so far as I have communicated them, and all other principles about the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ, &c. wherein also the aged people are pretty expert, by the frequent repetition thereof.

thereof to the children, and are able to teach it to their children at home, and do so.

Secondly, I Preach unto them out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainnesse, and brevity, unto which many are very attentive.

Thirdly, if there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure; unto which they submit themselves reverently, and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainnesse, and without shiftings, and excuses: I will instance in two or three particulars; this was one case, a man named *Wampoowas*, being in a passion upon some light occasion did beat his wife, which was a very great offence among them now (though in former times it was very usuall) and they had made a Law against it, and set a fine upon it; whereupon he was publikly brought forth before the Assembly, which was great that day, for our Governor and many other English were then present: the man wholly condemned himself without any excuse: and when he was asked what provocation his wife gave him? he did not in the least measure blame her but himself, and when the quality of the sinne was opened, that it was cruelty to his own body, and against Gods Commandement, and that passion was a sinne, and much aggravated by such effects, yet God was ready to pardon it in Christ, &c. he turned his face to the wall and wept, though with modest indeavor to hide it; and such was the modest, penitent, and melting behavior of the man, that it much affected all to see it in a Barbarian, and all did forgive him, onely this remained, that they executed their Law notwithstanding his repentance, and required his fine, to which he willingly submitted, and paid it.

Another case of admonition was this, *Cutshamaquin* the *Sachim* having a son of about 14. or 15. yeers old, he had bin drunk, & had behaved himself disobediently, and rebelliously against his father and mother, for which sinne they did blame him, but he despised their admonition. And before I knew of it, I did observe when I catechized him, when he should say the fift Commandement, he did not freely say, *Honor thy father*, but wholly left out *mother*, and so he did the Lecture day before, but when this sinne of his was produced, he was called forth before the Assembly

bly, and hee confessed that what was said against him was true, but hee fell to accuse his father of sundry evils, as that hee would have killed him in his anger, and that he forced him to drink Sack, and I know not what else: which behavior wee greatly disliked, shewed him the evill of it, and Mr. *Wilson* being present laboured much with him, for hee understood the English, but all in vaine, his heart was hard and hopelesse for that time, therefore using due loving perswasions, wee did sharply admonish him of his sinne, and required him to answer further the next Lecture day, and so left him; and so stout he was, that when his father offered to pay his fine of 10 *s.* for his drunkennesse according to their Law, he would not except it at his hand. When the next day was come, and other exercises finished, I called him forth, and he willingly came, but still in the same mind as before. Then wee turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling block out of his sonnes way, by confessing his own sinnes whereby hee had given occasion of hardnesse of heart to his sonne; which thing was not suddain to him, for I had formerly in private prepared him thereunto, and hee was very willing to hearken to that counsell, because his conscience told him he was blameworthy; and accordingly he did, he confessed his maine and principall evils of his own accord: and upon this advantage I took occasion to put him upon confession of sundry other vices which I knew hee had in former times been guilty of, and all the Indians knew it likewise; and put it after this manner, Are you now sorry for your drunkennesse, filthines, false dealing, lying, &c. which sinnes you committed before you knew God? unto all which cases, he expressed himself sorrowfull, and condemned himself for them: which example of the *Sachim* was profitable for all the Indians. And when he had thus confessed his sinnes, we turned againe to his sonne and laboured with him, requiring him to confesse his sinne, and intreat God to forgive him for Christ his sake, and to confesse his offence against his father and mother, and intreat them to forgive him, but he still refused; and now the other Indians spake unto him soberly, and affectionatly, to put him on, and divers spake one after another, and some severall times. Mr. *Wilson* againe did much labour with him, and at last he did humble himself, confessed all,

and

and intreated his father to forgive him, and took him by the hand, at which his father burst forth into great weeping: hee did the same also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others; and many English being present, they fell a weeping, so that the house was filled with weeping on every side; and then we went to prayer, in all which time *Cutshamaquin* wept, in so much that when wee had done the board he stood upon was all dropped with his teares.

Another case of admonition was this, a hopefull young man who is my servant, being upon a journey, and drinking Sack at their setting forth, he drank too much, and was disguised; which when I heard I reproved him, and he humbled himself, with confession of his sinne, and teares. And the next Lecture day I called him forth before the Assembly, where he did confesse his sinne with many teares.

Before I leave this point of admonition, if I thought it would not bee two tedious to you, I would mention one particular more, where we saw the power of God awing a wicked wretch by this ordinance of admonition. It was *George* that wicked *Indian*, who as you know, at our first beginnings sought to cast aspersions upon Religion, by laying slanderous accusations against godly men, and who asked that captious question, *who made Sack*? and this fellow having kild a young Cow at your Towne, and sold it at the Colledge instead of *Moose*, covered it with many lies, insomuch as Mr. *Dunster* was loath he should be directly charged with it when we called him forth, but that wee should rather inquire. But when he was called before the Assembly, and charged with it, he had not power to deny it, but presently confessed, onely hee added one thing which wee think was an excuse; thus God hath honored this ordinance among them.

Fourthly, the last exercise, you know, we have among them, is their asking us questions, and very many they have asked, which I have forgotten, but some few that come to my present remembrance I will briefly touch.

One was *Wabbakowets* question, who is reputed an old *Powwaw*, it was to this purpose, seeing the English had been 27 yeers (some of them) in this land, why did wee never teach them to know God

God till now? had you done it sooner, said hee, wee might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now some of us are grown old in sin, &c. To whom we answered, that we doe repent that wee did not long agoe, as now we doe, yet withall wee told them, that they were never willing to hear till now, and that seeing God hath bowed their hearts to be willing to hear, we are desirous to take all the paines we can now to teach them.

Another question was, that of *Cutshamaquin*, to this purpose, Before I knew God, said he, I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinfull then ever it was before, and this hath been a great trouble to mee; and at this day my heart is but very little better then it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad againe as it was before, and therefore I sometime wish I might die before I be so bad again as I have been. Now my question is, whether is this a sin or not? This question could not be learned from the English, nor did it seem a coyned feigned thing, but a reall matter gathered from the experience of his own heart, and from an inward observation of himself.

Another question was about their children, Whither their little children goe when they dye, seeing they have not sinned?

Which question gave occasion more fully to teach them originall sin, and the damned state of all men: And also, and especially it gave occasion to teach them the Covenant of God, which he hath made with all his people, and with their children, so that when God chooses a man or a woman to be his servant, he chooses all their children to be so also: which doctrin was exceeding gratefull unto them.

Another great question was this, when I preached out of 1 *Cor.* 6. 9, 10, 11. old Mr. *Brown*, being present, observed them to be much affected, and one especially did weep very much, though covered it what hee could; and after that there was a generall question, which they sent unto mee about, by my man, as the question of them all, *Whether any of them should goe to Heaven, seeing they found their hearts full of sinne, and especially full of the sinne of lust*, which they call *nanwunwudsquas*, that is, mad after women; and the next meeting, being at *Dorchester mill*, Mr. *Mather* and Mr. *Wareham*,

Wareham, with divers others being preſent, they did there propound it, expreſſing their feares, *that none of them ſhould bee ſaved*; which queſtion did draw forth my heart to preach and preſſe the promiſe of pardon to all that were weary and ſick of ſinne, if they did beleeve in Chriſt who had died for us, and ſatisfied the juſtice of God for all our ſinnes, and through whom God is well pleaſed with all ſuch repenting ſinners that come to Chriſt, and beleeve in him; and the next day I took that Text, *Matth.* 11. 28, 29. and this doctrin ſome of them in a ſpeciall manner did receive in a very reverent manner.

There is another great queſtion that hath been ſeverall times propounded, and much ſticks with ſuch as begin to pray, namely, *If they leave off* Powwawing, *and pray to God, what ſhall they do when they are ſick*? for they have no skill in phyſick, though ſome of them underſtand the vertues of ſundry things, yet the ſtate of mans body, and skill to apply them they have not: but all the refuge they have and relie upon in time of ſickneſſe is their *Powwaws*, who by antick, fooliſh and irrationall conceits delude the poore people; ſo that it is a very needfull thing to informe them in the uſe of Phyſick, and a moſt effectuall meanes to take them off from their *Powwawing*. Some of the wiſer ſort I have ſtirred up to get this skill; I have ſhewed them the anatomy of mans body, and ſome generall principles of Phyſick, which is very acceptable to them, but they are ſo extreamely ignorant, that theſe things muſt rather be taught by ſight, ſenſe, and experience then by precepts, and rules of art; and therefore I have had many thoughts in my heart, that it were a ſingular good work, if the Lord would ſtirre up the hearts of ſome or other of his people in England to give ſome maintenance toward ſome Schoole or Collegiate exerciſe this way, wherein there ſhould be Anatomies and other inſtructions that way, and where there might be ſome recompence given to any that ſhould bring in any vegetable or other thing that is vertuous in the way of Phyſicks; by this means we ſhould ſoon have all theſe things which they know, and others of our Countreymen that are skilfull that way, and now their skill lies buried for want of incouragement, would be a ſearching and trying to find out the vertues of things in this countrey, which doubtleſſe are many, and would not a

little conduce to the benefit of the people of this Countrey, and it may bee of our native Countrey also; by this meanes wee should traine up these poore *Indians* in that skill which would confound and root out their *Powwaws*, and then would they be farre more easily inclined to leave those wayes, and pray unto God, whose gift Physick is, and whose blessing must make it effectuall.

There is also another reason which moves my thought and desires this way, namely that our young Students in Physick may be trained up better then yet they bee, who have onely theoreticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practise before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. *Giles Firman* (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now.

This very day that I wrote these things unto you, I have been with the *Indians* to teach them, as I was wont to doe, and one of their questions among many other was to know what to say to such *Indians* as oppose their praying to God, and beleeving in Jesus Christ, and for their own information also, What get you, say they, by praying to God, and beleeving in Jesus Christ? you goe naked still, and you are as poore as wee, and our Corne is as good as yours, and wee take more pleasure then you; did we see that you got any thing by it, wee would pray to God and beleeve in Jesus Christ also as you doe? Unto which question I then answered them. First, God giveth unto us two sorts of good things, one sort are little ones, which I shewed by my little finger; the other sort are great ones, which I shewed by my thumbe, (for you know they use and delight in demonstrations:) the little mercies are riches, as cloths, food, sack, houses, cattle, and pleasures, these are little things which serve but for our bodies a little while in this life; the great mercies are wisdome, the knowledge of God, Christ, eternall life, repentance, faith, these are mercies for the soule, and for eternall life: now though God do not yet give you the little mercies, he giveth you that which is a great deale better, which the wicked *Indians* cannot see. And this I proved to them by this example; when *Foxun* the *Mohegan* Counseller, who is counted the wisest *Indian* in the Country,

was

was in the *Bay*, I did on purpose bring him unto you; and when he was here, you saw he was a foole in comparison of you, for you could speak of God and Christ, and heaven and repentance and faith, but he sate and had not one word to say, unlesse you talked of such poor things as hunting, wars, &c. Secondly, you have some more cloths then they, and the reason why you have no more is because you have but a little wisdome, if you were more wise to know God, and obey his Commands, you would work more then you do, for so God commandeth, *Six dayes thou shalt work, &c.* and thus the English do: and if you would bee so wise as to worke as they do, you should have cloths, houses, cattle, riches as they have, God would give you them.

This day they told me this news, that some of them having been abroad in the Country at *Titacut*, divers of those *Indians* would be glad to know God, and to pray unto God, and would be glad if I would come and teach them, but some of them opposed and would not. They askt me this day, why God made the Rainbow. These things are now fresh in my mind, that makes me so large in them, but I'le forbeare any more of their questions of this nature.

There do sundry times fall out differences among them, and they usually bring their cases to me, and sometime such, as it's needfull for me to decline; where I may, I advise them to some issue. One great case that hath come severall times to mee, is about such debts as they owe by gaming, for they have been great gamesters, but have moved questions about it, and are informed of the unlawfulnesse of it, and have thereupon wholly given over gaming for any wagers, and all games wherein is a lot, onely use lawfull recreations, and have a Law against unlawfull gaming; but other *Indians* that are of another mind, come and challenge their old debts, and now they refuse to pay, because it was a sinne so to game, and they now pray to God, and therefore must not pay such sinfull debts. Now the case being serious, and such as I saw a snare underneath, the first counsaile they had was, who ever would challenge such a debt should come to our Governor, and he would take order to rectifie the matter. But the Creditors liked not that way, and therefore soon after there came another case of the same kinde, and an issue was very ne-

ceſſary; therefore I firſt dealt with the creditor, and ſhewed him the ſinfulneſſe of ſuch games, and how angry God was at them; and therefore perſwaded him to be content to take half his debt, unto which he very willingly condeſcended; then I dealt with the debtor, and askt him if he did not promiſe to pay him all that debt? and he anſwered yea, he did ſo; then I ſhewed him that God commands us to performe our promiſes, and though he ſinned in gaming, he muſt repent of that, but ſeeing he hath promiſed payment, he ſhould ſin to break his promiſe: at which he was utterly ſilenced; but then I asked him, if hee would willingly pay half, if I ſhould perſwade the other to accept it; yea ſaid hee very willingly, and ſo the matter ended: and in this way they uſually end ſuch caſes ſince that time. Their young men, who of all the reſt, live moſt idlely and diſſolutely, now begin to goe to ſervice, ſome to *Indians*, ſome to *Engliſh*; and ſome of them growing weary, broak out of their ſervices, and they had no help among them for it; ſo that ſome propounded what they ſhould doe to remedy that evill; they were anſwered, that the Engliſh bring ſuch ſervants to the Court, and our Magiſtrates rectifie thoſe evills; then they deſired that they might have a Court among them for government, at which motion wee rejoyced, ſeeing it came from themſelves, and tended ſo much to civilize them, ſince which time I moved the Generall Court in it, and they have pleaſed to order a way for exerciſing government among them: the good Lord proſper and bleſſe it.

They moved alſo as you know for a School, and through Gods mercy a courſe is now taken that there be Schooles at both places where their children are taught.

You know likewiſe that wee exhorted them to fence their ground with ditches, ſtone walls, upon the banks, and promiſed to helpe them with Shovels, Spades, Mattocks, Crows of Iron; and they are very deſirous to follow that counſell, and call upon me to help them with tooles faſter them I can get them, though I have now bought pretty ſtore, and they (I hope) are at work. The women are deſirous to learn to ſpin, and I have procured Wheels for ſundry of them, and they can ſpin pretty well. They begin to grow induſtrious, and find ſomething to ſell at Market all the yeer long: all winter they ſell Brooms, Staves, Elepots, Baskets,

Baskets, Turkies. In the Spring, Craneberies, Fish, Stawberies, in the Summer Hurtleberries, Grapes, Fish: in the Autumn they sell Craneberries, Fish, Venison, &c. and they find a good benefit by the Market, and grow more and more to make use thereof; besides sundry of them work with the English in Hay time, and Harvest, but yet it's not comparable to what they might do, if they were industrious, and old boughs must be bent a little at once; if we can set the young twiggs in a better bent, it will bee Gods mercy. Deare brother I can go no further, a weary body, and sleepy eyes command me to conclude, if I have not satisfied your desire in this little I have wrote, let me understand it from you, and I shall be willing to do my indeavour: and thus with my deare love remembred to your self and your beloved yoakfellow, and desiring your prayers for Gods grace and blessing upon my spirit and poor indeavours, I take leave at this time and rest

Roxbury this 24. of *Septemb.* 1647.

Your loving brother in our Saviour Christ,

JOHN ELIOT.

Let me adde this Postscript, that there be two reasons that make me beleeve the Lords time is come to make a preparative at least for the comming of his grace, and kingdome among them. First, that he hath bowed their hearts, who were as averse, and as farre off from God, as any heathen in the world; and their hearts begin to bow more and more. Secondly, because the Lord hath raised a mighty spirit of prayer in this behalfe in all the Churches.

This Relation of Mr. *Eliots* I know many things therein to be true, & all the rest I have heard confirmed by credible persons, eye & eare witnesses of these things, and they are familiarly known in these parts. I know also that Mr. *Eliot* writes (as his spirit is) modestly and sparingly, and speaks the least in sundry particulars; for in his story of the repentance and publike admonition of his own man, page 23. hee saith he manifested many teares in publike, but I heard it from many then present that there were so many, as that the dry place of the *Wigwam* where hee stood

was bedirtied with them, powring them out so abundantly. *Indians* are well known not to bee much subject to teares, no not when they come to feele the forest torture, or are solemnly brought forth to die; and if the Word workes these teares, surely there is some conquering power of Christ Jesus stirring among them, which what it will end in at last, the Lord best knows. If Mr. *Brightmans* interpretation of *Daniels* prophesie be true, that *Anno* 1650. Europe will hear some of the best tidings that ever came into the world, *viz.* rumors from the Easterne Jews, which shall trouble the Turkish tyrant and shake his Pillars when they are comming to repossesse their own land, for which they will be wrastling (if my memory failes not, according to his notion) about 40. yeers; I shall hope then that these Westerne *Indians* will soon come in, and that these beginnings are but preparatives for a brighter day then we yet see among them, wherein East & West shall sing the song of the Lambe: but I have no skill in propheſies, nor do I beleeve every mans interpretation of such Scripture; but this is certain, God is at work among these; and it is not usual for the Sun to set as soon as it begins to rise, nor for the Lord to Jesus to lose an inch of ground in the recovering times of his Churches peace and his own eclipsed and forgotten glory, (if these bee such times) untill hee hath won the whole field, and driven the Prince of darkenesse out of it, who is but a bold usurper of the Lord Jesus inheritance, to whom are given the utmost ends of the earth. When *Charles* the Great had broken the chief power of the barbarous and fierce *Saxons* in *Germany*, he made this the onely article of peace, that they should entertain such a Gospel as good then as the degenerate Christian world could affoord, and for that end admit of a Monastery among them of such men as might instruct them, and this course prevailed, if wee may beleeve * *Crantzius* the Historian of those times; and shall wee think that when the Lord Jesus hath set up not a Monastery of workes but Churches of Saints in these coasts to encourage the ministry and this work of Christ, that his blessed Gospel cannot or shall not in these dayes take some effect since it hath broke so far? I dare conclude nothing, onely it will be our comfort in the day of our accounts, that wee have endeavored something this way; and it may be this very indea-

* *Crantzius ch.* 1, 2.

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vour shall be our peace. *Gildas* our British Historian observing that one cause why God let loose the *Saxons* to scourge and root out the *Britaines*, was their deep carelesnesse of communicating unto them the Christian Religion, when they had their spirits at fit advantage: but I dare not discourse of these matters.

One thing more I remember concerning Mr. *Eliots* conference with a *Narraganset Sachim* a sober man this yeer; after that he had taught this *Sachim* the Law of God, and had shewen him the means of salvation by Christ; he then asked him if he did know and understand those things? and he said, yes. He then asked him if he did beleeve them? but hee could not get any answer from him that way, but did seeme to take them into more serious thoughts. He then asked him, why they did not learn of Mr. *Williams* who hath lived among them divers yeers? and he soberly answered that they did not care to learn of him, because hee is no good man but goes out and workes upon the Sabbath day; I name it not to shew what glimmerings nature may have concerning the observation of the Sabbath, but to shew what the ill example of English may doe, and to see what a stumbling block to all Religion the loose observation of the Sabbath is, however mans shifting wits may find out evasions, to get loose from out of that net.

But this may serve to satisfie your own or others desires concerning the progresse of the Gospel among the *Indians*: the Lord Jesus seemes at this day to bee turning upside down the whole frame of things in the world, Kings, Parliaments, Armies, Kingdomes, Authorities, Churches, Ministers, and if out of his free grace hee looks not upon these hopefull beginnings, these will be so turned also; for opposition there is from men and devils against it, and I have feared in my own heart that within these few moneths there hath been some coolings among the best of these *Indians*; but wee find it so also among many people that are *English* in their first work, but the Lord Jesus revives again; and therefore Mr. *Eliot* of late having told them that hee was afraid that they began to bee weary, they took it to heart, and propounded in my hearing at a late *Indian* Lecture at *Noonanetum* many profitable questions, viz. *When they pray-*

prayed and heard the Word aright? and how they might know when they were weary of them? And what time it might bee before the Lord might come and make them know him? And what the first sinne of the Devils was? (Hee discoursing to them about the danger of Apostasie.) At this time they are (as you may perceive by Mr. *Eliots* writings) about fencing in their ground and Town given them some hundreds of Acres, with a stone fence, for which end Mr. *Eliot* provides them Mattocks, Shovels and Crowes of Iron, &c. and to encourage their slothfulnesse, promised to give a groat or six pence a rod, if they would thus farre attend their own good, and work for themselves: all the poor *Indians* at *Noonanetum* are generally clad with such cloths as wee can get them, and the *Wigwams* of the meanest of them equallize any *Sachims* in other places, being built not with mats but barks of Trees in good bignesse, the rather that they may have their partitions in them for husbands and wives togeather, and their children and servants in their places also, who formerly were never private in what nature is ashamed of, either for the sun or any man to see. It's some refreshing to thinke that there is (if there was no more but) the name of Christ sounding in those darke and despicable *Tartarian* Tents; the Lord can build them houses in time to pray in, when hee hath given unto them better hearts, and when perhaps hee hath cursed and consumed theirs who have disdained to give that worship and homage to Christ in their seiled houses, which poor *Indians* rejoyce to give to him in their poor Tents and *Wigwams*: I desire you to gather what stock of prayers you can for them. I had almost forgot to tell you of Mr. *Eliots* going up the Country lately with Mr. *Flint*, Captain *Willard* of *Concord*, and sundry others, towards *Merrimath* River unto that *Indian Sachim Passaconnaway*, that old Witch and *Powwaw*, who together with both his sons, fled the presence of the light, and durst not stand their ground, nor be at home when he came, pretending feare of being killed by a man forsooth that came only with a book in his hand, and with a few others without any weapons only to bear him company and direct his way in those deserts; but in it you may see the guilt of the man, & that *Satan* is but a coward in his *Lyons* skin even upon his own dunghill, as also the hatred and

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enmity againſt the Word which is in ſome, which argues that the attention which others give to it, is a power of God, and not meerly to flatter and get favour with the Engliſh: but the reſt of *Paſſaconnawaies* men attended to the things which were ſpoken and asked divers queſtions, the *Indians* in our parts accompanying Mr. *Eliot* and giving bleſſed examples to the others herein, as alſo in ſaying Grace before and after meat, praying in their *Wigwams* with them, and ſome of them ſinging of Pſalmes, which they have learnt among the Engliſh: diſcourſing alſo with them about the things of God. It is ſomewhat obſervable (though the obſervation bee more cheerfull then deep) that the firſt Text out of which Mr. *Eliot* preached to the *Indians* was about the dry bones, *Ezek.* 37. where it's ſaid, *Verſ.* 9, 10. *that by propheſying to the wind, the wind came and the dry bones lived*; now the *Indian* word for Wind is *Waubon*, and the moſt active *Indian* for ſtirring up other *Indians* to ſeek after the knowledg of God in theſe parts, his name is *Waubon*, which ſignifies Wind, (the *Indians* giving names to their children uſually according to appearances of providences) although they never dreamt of this, that this their *Waubon* ſhould breathe ſuch a ſpirit of life and incouragement into the reſt of the *Indians*, as hee hath indeavored in all parts of the Countrey, both at *Concord*, *Merrimack* and elſewhere; but ſome of the *Indians* themſelves that were ſtir'd up by him took notice of this his name and that Scripture together, and the Engliſh alſo have much obſerved him herein, who ſtill continues the ſame man, although we thinke there be now many others whom he firſt breathed encouragement into that do farre exceed him in the light and life of the things of God: Mr. *Eliot* alſo profeſſing that he choſe that Text without the leaſt thought of any ſuch application in reſpect of *Waubon*.

There have been many difficult queſtions propounded by them, which we have been unwilling to engage our ſelves in any anſwer unto, untill wee have the concurrence of others with us.

Firſt, ſuppoſe a man before hee knew God, hath had two wives, the firſt barren and childleſſe, the ſecond fruitfull and bearing him many ſweet children, the queſtion now propounded was, *Which of theſe two wives he is to put away*? if hee puts away the firſt who hath no children, then hee puts away her whom God and Religion undoubtedly binds him unto, there

being no other defect but want of children: if hee puts away the other, then he must cast off all his children with her also as illegitimate, whom hee so exceedingly loves. This is a case now among them, and they are very fearefull to do any thing crosse to Gods will and mind herein.

Secondly, suppose a man marry a *Squaw*, and shee deserts and flies from her husband, and commits adultery with other remote *Indians*, but afterward it come to passe that shee hearing the Word, and sorry for what shee hath done, she desires to come to her husband againe, who remaines still unmarried; *Whether should this husband upon her repentance receive her againe? and whether is he not bound thereunto so to doe?*

At the last Lecture at *Noonanetum* this *September*, there were divers questions asked: one was propounded by an old *Squaw*, a Widow; viz. *If when men know God, God loves them, why then is it that any one are afflicted after that they know him?* I shall mention no more, but conclude with the solemn speech of a sober and hopefull *Indian* at this Lecture, whose name is *Wampooas*, who in stead of propounding a question fell into these expressions, viz. "That because wee pray to God, other *Indians* abroad "in the countrey hate us and oppose us, the English on the "other side suspect us, and feare us to be still such as doe not pray "at all; but (saith he) God who knowes all things, he knowes "that wee do pray to him. To which speech Mr. *Eliot* replyed, that it was true indeed, that some of the English did so far suspect them for sundry reasons; but I doe not so, and others of us, who know you and speake with you, we do not so think of you; and then gave them gracious and serious incouragements to goe forward and make more progresse in the things of God. This their own testimony of themselves being propounded with much sweetnesse and seriousnesse of affection, may be the last, although it be the least confirmation of some inward worke among them; which I looked upon as a speciall providence that such a speech should be spoken and come to my eare just at such a time as this, wherein I was finishing the story, to confirme in some measure what hath been written; the Lord himself I beleeve and no man living, putting these words into their own hearts, to give this modest testimony concerning themselves. The beginning of this enlargement of Christs Kingdome should inlarge our hearts with great

great joy. If I should gather and summe up together the severall gracious impressions of God upon them from what hath been scattered here and there in the story, I thinke it might make many Christians ashamed, who may easily see how farre they are exceeded by these naked men in so short a time thus wrought upon by such small and despicable means. My brother *Eliot* who is Preacher to them, professing he can as yet but stammer out some peeces of the Word of God unto them in their own tongue; but God is with him, and God is wont to be *maximus in minimis*, and is most seene in doing great things by small meanes. The Sword of Gods Word shall and will pierce deep, even when it is half broken, when the hand of a mighty Redeemer hath the laying of it on: and the Scripture herein is, and must be fulfilled, that as soon as the heathen heare Christ they shall submit, *Psal.* 18. 43,44. and such nations whom Christ knew not shall run unto him, *Isai.* 55. 5. The fall of the unbeleving Jewes was the rising of the Gentiles; my prayer to God therefore for *Europe* is, that the fall of the Churches, (little bettered by the devouring Sword which is still thirsty) may not bee the rising of these *American* Gentiles, never pitied till now. I wish that *Alstedius* prophesie herein may never prove true; but rather that the rising of these may be a provoking and raising up of them, especially of the English, to lament after that God whom they have forsaken; and to lament after him, together with us, for these poor *Indians* who never yet knew him. *Alsted in Ap*

Sir, I had ended these relations once or twice, but the stay of the Vessell increaseth new matter; which because 'tis new and fresh, you shall have it as I heard of it from a faithfull hand: There were sundry questions propounded at the *Indian* Lecture at *Noonanetum* this *Octob.* 13. by the *Indians*: the first was propounded to Mr. *Eliot* himself upon occasion of his Sermon out of *Ephes.* 5. 11. *Have no fellowship with unfruitfull workers of darknes*, viz. *What English men did thinke of* Mr. Eliot *because he came among wicked Indians to teach them?*

Secondly, *Suppose two men sinne, the one knowes he sinneth, and the other doth not know sinne, will God punish both alike?*

Thirdly, *Suppose there should be one wise Indian that teacheth good things to other Indians, whether should not he be as a father or brother unto*

such Indians he so teacheth in the wayes of God? This last question seemes to argue some motions stirring in some of their hearts to pity and teach their poor Countreymen; and surely then will bee the most hopefull time of doing good among them, when the Lord shall raise up some or other like themselves to go among them and preach the Word of life unto them with fatherly or brotherly bowels; and yet I limit not the most High, who can make use of what Instruments hee pleaseth for this work. I shall conclude therefore with a story I had both by writing and word of mouth, from a faithfull * man which hee saw with his own eyes this *Octob.*7. There was one of the *Indians* at *Noonanetum*, hath had a child sick of a Consumption many a day, and at that time died of it; when it was dead, some of the *Indians* came to an honest man to enquire how they should bury their dead; the man told them how and what the English did when they buried theirs; hereupon rejecting all their old superstitious observances at such sad times (which are not a few) they presently procured a few boards, and buy a few nayles of the *English*, and so make a pretty handsome Coffin, (for they are very dextrous at any thing they see once done) and put the child into it, and so accompanied it to the grave very solemnly, about 40. *Indians* of them: when the earth was cast upon it and the grave made up, they withdrew a little from that place, and went all together and assembled under a Tree in the Woods, and there they desired one *Tutaswampe* a very hopefull *Indian* to pray with them; now although the *English* do not usually meet in companies to pray together after such sad occasions, yet it seemes God stird up their hearts thus to doe; what the substance of their prayer was I cannot certainly learn, although I have heard some things that way, which I therefore name not, onely I have and shall indeavour to get it, if it bee possible for the poor *Indian* to expresse the substance of it, and so shall send it if the ship stayes long, onely this is certaine by him who was occasionally an eye and eare witnesse of these things, that they continued instant with God in prayer for almost half an houre together, and this godly mans words to mee (who understands a little of their language) are these; that this *Tutaswampe* did expresse such zeale in prayer with such variety of gracious expressions, and abundance of

* t. *Edward* *son.*

of teares, both of himself and most of the company, that the woods rang againe with their sighes and prayers; and (saith he) I was much ashamed of my self and some others, that have had so great light, and yet want such affections as they have, who have as yet so little knowledge. All this he saw standing at some good distance alone from them under a Tree.

Thus you see (Sir) that these old obdurate sinners are not altogether senseless of Gods afflicting hand and humbling providences; and though naturall affection may be much stirring in such times, yet you see how God begins to sanctifie such affections among them: and I wish that many English were not outstript herein by these poor *Indians*, who have got the start I feare of many *English*, that can passe by such sad providences without laying them in this manner to heart. I confesse these and many such things which wee see in divers of them, do make some to thinke that there is more of God and his Spirit in some of their hearts then we yet can discover, and which they hope will break out in time.

Thus you have a true, but somewhat rent and ragged relation of these things; it may be most sutable to the story of naked and ragged men: my desire is that no mans Spectacles may deceive him, so as to look upon these things either as bigger or lesser, better or worser then they are; which all men generally are apt to doe at things at so great distance, but that they may judge of them as indeed they are, by what truth they see here expresst in the things themselves. I know that some thinke that all this worke among them is done and acted thus by the *Indians* to please the *English*, and for applause from them; and it is not unlikely but so 'tis in many, who doe but blaze for a time; but certainly 'tis not so in all, but that the power of the Word hath taken place in some, and that inwardly and effectually, but how far savingly time will declare, and the reader may judge of, by the story it self of these things. Some say that if it be so, yet they are but a few that are thus wrought upon; Be it so, yet so it hath ever been, *many called, few chosen*: and yet withall I beleeve the calling in of a few *Indians* to Christ is the gathering home of many hundreds in one, considering what a vast distance there hath been between God and them so long, even dayes without number; considering

alſo how precious the firſt fruits of *America* will be to Jeſus Chriſt, and what ſeeds they may be of great harveſts in after times; and yet if there was no great matter ſeen in theſe of grown yeers, their children notwithſtanding are of great hopes both from *Engliſh* and *Indians* themſelves, who are therefore trained up to Schoole, where many are very apt to learne, and who are alſo able readily to anſwer to the queſtions propounded, containing the principles and grounds of all Chriſtian Religion in their own tongue. I confeſſe it paſſeth my skill to tell how the Goſpel ſhould be generally received by theſe *American* Natives, conſidering the variety of Languages in ſmall diſtances of places; onely hee that made their eares and tongues can raiſe up ſome or other to teach them how to heare, and what to ſpake; and if the Goſpel muſt ride circuit, Chriſt can and will conquer by weake and deſpicable meanes, though the conqueſt perhaps may be ſomewhat long. The beginnings and foundations of the *Spaniard* in the Southerne parts of this vaſt continent, being laid in the blood of nineteene Millions of poor innocent Natives (as *Acoſta* the Jeſuite a bird of their own neſt relates the ſtory) ſhall certainly therefore bee utterly rooted up by ſome revenging hand, and when he is once diſpoſſeſt of his Golden Manſions and Silver Mines, it may be then the oppreſſed remnant in thoſe coaſts alſo may come in. In the meane while if it bee the good pleaſure of Chriſt to look upon any of the worſt and meaneſt of theſe outcaſts in theſe Coaſts of *New-England*, let us not deſpiſe this day of ſmall things, but as the Jews did of old, ſo let us now cry mightily to God and ſay, and ſing, *Let the people praiſe thee O God, yea let all the people praiſe thee, then ſhall the earth bring forth her increaſe, and God even our God will bleſſe us.*

I have ſent you two witneſſes beſide my own of the truth of the Indian ſtory printed, you may publiſh them if you pleaſe as they have writ, and ſubſcrib'd with their own hands.

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